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ABSTRACT

Research results show a skepticism among Polish youth concerning the possibility of implementing the accepted socialist values in political practice and denote a steady erosion of socialism's image. Youth organizations are many and varied, but it appears that most join because of the opportunity to meet friends, not because of political commitment. In general, university students respect such values as human dignity and well-being and democratization of social relations. They question the effectiveness of existing political institutions, and their social and political activity in legal organizations is increasing. The students show more interest in the ecological movement as a political movement as well as in other alternative or opposition movements. The Polish United Workers' Party is deeply concerned about the problems of Polish youth. In 1982, the party implemented a program meant to improve the educational process, the professional start of youth, dwelling situations, and the protection and development of the family. The economic and social conditions under which the program was implemented were difficult, so the effects were few. The Roman Catholic church has played a significant role. Nearly 90 percent of Polish youth are Christians and practice Roman Catholicism. For most of them, the church is not only the authority in matters of faith, but also enjoys their confidence as a sociopolitical institution. The degree of the antisocialist opposition influence on Polish youth is difficult to estimate. Their susceptibility to political and ideological influence of the opposition results from a state of discontent and frustration caused by an inability to satisfy needs and aspirations. (JB)

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POLISH YOUTH: A DYCHOTOMIC WORLD OF VALUES

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Introduction

We have undertaken a difficult task to present on several pages of the paper a state of political consciousness of the Polish youth in the late 80s. What makes that task more difficult is the fact that in our country scientific research on the youth's life problems, their attitudes and beliefs has systematically been carried out for years. We would like to introduce shortly five of them. The biggest scientific center dealing with the youth's problems is the governmental Youth's Problems Research Institute set up by the Prime Minister on July 21, 1983. The Institute publishes a quarterly "Polska Młodzież" /"Polish Youth"/. Since 1982 the empirical research has also been carried out by the Social Research Center of the Chief Council of the Polish Students' Association. In 1982 the government established the Bureau for the Youth's Affairs. Its chief, a minister, sits on the Council of Ministers. The Bureau carries out its own research and sponsors the research conducted by a new independent body, the Social Opinion Research Center. For the needs of the Ministry of National Education some research is done by the Institute of Academic Policy and Higher Education, which has existed since 1950s. Ad hoc research is carried out for the needs of other political parties and the Church as well.

Yet, the problems of the academic milieu are relatively best known. The comprehensive research resulted in the findings recently published by the Sociological Group of the Methodological Center for Political Sciences and entitled "Students in the light of sociological research".

Since all the studies are more or less available, those who are interested may refer to the index at the end of the paper. Now, we will attempt to outline those problems which are the object of the most stormy discussions held in contemporary Poland. We want to focus on the organizations which at present mark a rhytm of Polish political life: the Polish United Workers' Party, the Church and social

organizations - formal and informal. Before we discuss more detailed problems, one should answer the question which the title of the paper might bring up: To what extent are the problems of the Polish youth universal and to what extent are they unique? For the socialist countries of Eastern Europe all the processes taking place in Poland have a model character. It is just here where at the earliest the reforms of political system began, where the processes of democratization are highly advanced. So, a dilemma what should be reformed first: economy or political system, has been solved. The reason - economic and social stagnation of most socialist countries. It has already led to the radical changes in the state structures in Hungary and the Soviet Union. Polish experience gained in this sphere affects directly the policies of these countries. The similar situation can be observed in the countries, a development of which is termed as "socialist orientation". Polish experience proves that the strong Roman Catholic Church /based on its social doctrine modernized by John Paul II/ and the socialist ideology as a state ideology, can work out some forms of collaboration enabling better realization of working people's interests.

Socialism: yes or no?

First, we should remind you that the party system functioning in socialist Poland rests on the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party. Recently this system has been broadened by some associations and various groups of Roman Catholics. They have established a kind of a coalition system. These parties have a full organizational autonomy and participate in exercising state power. They also share a responsibility for a development of the socialist country. The socialist party system assumes a recognition of the communist party dominance in the political system. The coalition parties are obliged to respect socialism as the Polish state ideology. However, since 1981 the PUWP has constantly been declaring a policy of self-limitation of its dominance. Its main task is to achieve higher

degree of democratization of the political relations in the country.

The problem of the young generation's attitude towards the principal values of socialism, their practical realization in Polish reality, is of key importance for the future of socialism in Poland as well as for the future of the ruling party. Its complexity results not only from the methodological premises /through scientific research one can define a state of public opinion, not a state of consciousness/ but also from dynamic changes taking place within the axiological system of socialism as an effect of "renewal" and "restructuring" processes, economic and socio-political reforms, theoretical and historical revaluations. In some measure a "by-product" of these phenomena is ideological loss of the youth, since on the one hand there are new conditions for expressing individual opinions and views, while on the other hand a crisis of ideological values arises.

Most of the analyses and research confirm the fact that generally the youth accept the ideals of socialism. However, they frequently estimate negatively a realization of such principles as equality of life opportunities, irrespective of social background /35.7 per cent of the respondents postulate this principle while 59.1 per cent observe its practical implementation/; protection of proper living standards for all citizens / respectively: 95.8 per cent and 49.1 per cent/; freedom of speech and opportunity to express one's own opinions /94.9 per cent and 49.1 per cent/; citizens' influence on governing a state /82.2 per cent and 35.6 per cent/; differentiation of incomes according to qualifications and work output /82.1 per cent and 43.5 per cent/; the state's care of the economically weakest social groups /94.1 per cent and 76.0 per cent/; proper human relations /94.0 per cent and 33.0 per cent/. For 21 features mentioned in the analysis realization of the 12 strays distincly from the youth's ideas.

In May 1987 less than a half of the respondents - graduates from secondary schools /a sample of 1136 persons/

noted that Poland was a democratic country, while only c.4 per cent of them were quite sure about it. Merely one third of the respondents considered a balance of socialist achievements in Poland to be positive, yet more than half of them declared for further continuation of socialist development in our country.

The research results presented above, confirm a thesis on scepticism among young people concerning possibilities to implement the accepted socialist values in political practice and denote a steady erosion of socialism's image as a perspective for Poland and the world.

Organizations - dilemmas of choice

The youth movement is one of the most important factors shaping socialist attitudes and behaviour of young people.

The highest proportion of affiliation to different organizations can be observed among school children - c.a.48 per cent. In the villages /totally - pupils, farmers and the others/ it amounts to 43 per cent, in the students' milieu - c.a.26 per cent. The lowest proportion of affiliation is noticed in the milieu of the working youth - less than 20 per cent of the whole youth, including merely 13 per cent of young workers /together with the pupils from vocational schools/. The influence of the youth organizations on the young "white collar" workers with higher education is practically none.

In general at the beginning of 1988, 1mln 513 thous. persons /excluding young men in the army/ belonged to the Polish Socialist Youth Union, 449 thous. - to the Peasant Youth Union, 2 mln 32 thous. - to the Polish Scouts' Association and 65 thous. - to the Polish Students' Association.

The real influence of the youth organizations is less than the number of members would indicate. It is very often that the data obtained from the young respondents asked about their affiliation to different organizations in various types of anonymous polls differ much from the data collected in the statistical inquiries held by the youth organizations.

Such a situation exists in almost all youth's milieus, particularly in vocational schools and at the universities. It means that a large group of young people join organizations only formally and do not identify themselves with them. The index of the youth's reliance in the organization is very low, too. The statistics indicate that c.a. 29 per cent of the secondary school pupils belong to the Polish Socialist Youth Union, 13 per cent - to the Polish Scouts' Association and 5 per cent to the Peasant Youth Union, while the reliance placed by the youth in these organizations is respectively:

Polish Socialist Youth Union - 4.5 per cent
Polish Scouts' Association - 10.0 per cent
Peasant Youth Union - 2.5 per cent

At the universities the reliance placed by the students in the organizations is as follows:

Polish Socialist Youth Union - 2.2 per cent
/it unites 5 per cent of all students/
Peasant Youth Union - 2.4 per cent
/it unites 4 per cent of all students/.

The most popular is the Polish Scouts' Association - 6.5 per cent /it unites c.a. 1 per cent of all students/.
Only 3.2 per cent of the students place their reliance in the Polish Students' Association /this organization unites 20 per cent of all students/.

The main reason to join the organization is the opportunity to meet friends. A considerable number of students belong to the organizations because they offer very attractive forms of spending spare time. Only few students provided such reasons as: opportunity to carry on voluntary work, interesting programme and goals of the organization, opportunity to make decisions vital for the milieu.

For a moment let's talk about the students. As we have mentioned above in 1986 the global number of the students united in the youth organizations exceeded 20 per cent, and together with the members of tourist and sport clubs - 26 per cent. These indices are different in different collages, the lowest are at the universities. The Polish Students'

Association is still the largest. The highest proportion of the students united in the youth organizations, members and candidates of the party, can be observed among the students of political science.

The data obtained at the Łódź University in 1983 showed that 17 per cent of the students declared for the Marxist ideal of man, while 23 per cent pronounced for the Catholic ideal /respectively: in June 1980 - 5 per cent and 28 per cent, in 1981 - 1 per cent and 35 per cent/. The largest group chose "other", not specified philosophy of life, although 56 per cent of male students and 75 per cent of female students declared to be the Church members.

In May 1985 the research was repeated at the same university /although the questions were different/ and it delivered the following results. Marxism-Leninism was partially accepted by 40 per cent of the students and decidedly rejected by 38 per cent. However, in January 1987 these proportions changed and amounted to 53 per cent and 1[illegible] per cent, while 23 per cent of the respondents said that their attitude towards that doctrine was indifferent. What is more interesting we have found that political attitudes of the students depend neither on their social background nor on their beliefs. The students raised the following objections to Marxism-Leninism: lack of respect for the individual, human dignity and family, overestimation of violence. What restrains them from Marxism is atheism, vulgar materialism and the fact that it is an official ideology of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The students' attitude towards socialism can be summed up in the formula: theoretical socialism - yes, real socialism - no. They declare for democratic ideals, while 60 per cent of them prefer to be governed wisely and effectively and not to participate in the process of governing.

According to most students at the technical universities a social-democratic system is the most desired /or any system which favours human well-being/.

In conclusion one can say that generally the students do not accept any philosophy of life, however they respect such

values as human dignity, human well-being, democratism of social relations. Practically the students question effectiveness of the existing political institutions, including the opposition and excluding the Church as well as the supreme representative organs /Seym/. Nevertheless, the students' social and political activity in legal organizations /also Catholic/ is gradually increasing. They show more interest in the ecological movement as a political movement as well as in other alternative /oppositional/ movements. These phenomena prove that political polarization of the students' milieu is in its full speed.

Polish United Workers' Party or the Church?

In the research of 1986 / a sample of 2740 persons/ only 6.1 per cent of the respondents showed their reliance in the PUWP, but this reliance differs according to the youth's milieus. In the young workers' sample /709 persons/ 11.3 per cent showed their reliance in the PUWP, while in the students' sample /370 persons/- only 1.4 per cent. Different methodologies of various studies make it impossible to define changing tendencies in the youth's reliance in the PUWP in the last years. Yet, one can make an assumption that in 1983-1987 the reliance in it has not changed radically. One can also notice that the youth's reliance in the Seym grew, while in the political opposition decreased - from 2.95 points to 2.68 points /on the scale where 1 stands for lack of reliance and 5 stands for full reliance/.

In the youth's opinion the PUWP is perceived as a power playing a prominent role in socio-political life of the country /77.4 per cent/. Nevertheless, a perception of a key role of the party is not accompanied by acceptance of the Polish political system. Among the youth, 48.7 per cent of the respondents declared for the political system without a leading role of the PUWP. Only 37 per cent pronounced for maintaining its principal role.

The youth's attitude towards the Party affects also a development of the PUWP membership. In 1986 young people

below 29 made up merely 6.9 per cent of the party members. In the same year 34.181 candidates below 29 joined the PUWP. They made up 46 per cent of all the people joining the party, in 1987 the number dropped to only 44 per cent. Last year for the first time since 1982, a decrease of the absolute number of young /below 29/ party candidates took place. This tendency prevailed in the first quarter of 1988. This is a very unfavourable and dangerous phenomenon for the PUWP rank and file. At present, an average age of the party member is 46 and one can expect that at the beginning of 1990 this average will be 50.

In the years 1985-1987, 47.778 members of the youth organizations joined the Party, including:
91.8 per cent - members of the Polish Socialist Union
3.1 per cent - members of the Peasant Youth Union
0.8 per cent - members of the Polish Students' Association
4.3 per cent - members of the Polish Scouts' Association
In 1985-1986 the members of the youth organizations made up 22.6 per cent of the total number of all admitted candidates /in 1983-1984 - 20.7 per cent/ and 47.6 per cent of youth below 29 /in 1987 - 49.7 per cent and in the first quarter of 1988 - 50.1 per cent/.

In 1985-1986 the basic cells of the youth organizations exercised their right to recommend their members only in 4.505 cases, in 1987 - in 3.079 cases. 90.0 per cent of all youth are recommended by the circles of the Polish Socialist Youth Union.

In 1986 in the last PUWP election campaign a degree of participation of young people below 35 in the party authorities was relatively high. 14.3 per cent of young people below 35 found themselves in the Central Committee, 18.2 per cent - in the voivodship committees, 16.1 per cent - at the municipal and parish level, 15.0 per cent - in the authorities of the Basal Party Organizations. The participation of people below 35 in the party authorities is higher than their participation in the party itself. Yet, a regress in the age structure of the party has not been stopped.

debt /over 40 billion US dollars/.

61 per cent of the respondents do not share an opinion that the youth organizations /Polish Socialist Youth Union, Polish Scouts' Association, Peasant Youth Union, Polish Students' Association/ represent their interests and maintain that these organizations have no big influence on the process of changes in the country.

A state of consciousness of the young intellectuals, pictured by numerous studies and confirmed by socio-political practice, shows that the government has not been able to set in motion such mechanisms which would release their social and professional potential for the benefit of the country.

Opposition

A degree of the antisocialist opposition influence on the youth is difficult to estimate. Some research confirm that undoubtedly the authority of the oppositional groups and their leaders is declining. For instance, several spring strikes in 1988 were organized by a new generation of young people of 20-25, practically without any participation of the former Solidarity activists. The number of the youth in the organized forms of opposition has fallen, too. Yet, still a large group of the youth constitute a potential basis for recruitment of the Polish system opponents. In our opinion the reasons for this are following: the youth are open to influence of current public and political feeling emerging from temporary events and conflicts. It is caused by a crisis of values and ideological chaos, lack of consistency and low efficiency of work of various educational institutions.

The youth's susceptibility to political and ideological influence of the opposition results also - and maybe first of all - from a state of discontent, frustration caused by inability to satisfy needs and aspirations.

Recently, the opposition has attempted to intensify the activity of Freedom and Peace group, a follower of peace and ecological movements in the West. The leaders of this movement are against compulsory military service, Poland's

connected with their existential motives and attachement to the cultural and family tradition. The milieu of the young intellectuals shows a broad toleration for other people's views - 65.1 per cent of them consider those views a private matter of each man, only 5 per cent actively popularize their views on religion. The activities which tend to shatter one's beliefs are not accepted. The young intellectuals respect freedom which allows to choose philosophical options resulting from the personal motives.

The young intellectuals' religiousness is characterized by relatively strong antidogmatism expressed in lesser /in comparison to other social groups/ degree of acceptance of moral principles of the Catholic doctrine and in critical evaluation of some church dogmas. For example, 78 per cent of the respondents advocate use of contraceptives, for 60 per cent a registry marriage is sufficient and 7.2 per cent of the respondents emphasize that affiliation to the Roman Catholic church is necessary for redemption.

The Church has a great authority among the young intellectuals as a social institution. Nearly 81.9 per cent consider the Church a moral authority, 73.4 per cent - an educational authority, 59.9 per cent - an institution facilitating integration of the society, 60 per cent of the young intellectuals think that the Church collaborates with the government in the/social/ national interest, 5.3 per cent identify the Church with a political authority.

According to the young intellectuals the State does not favour the youth. 72.0 per cent of the respondents notice also some falsities in the economic system. In their opinion what counts at the professional start is not criteria of objective evaluation but "good connections". Only 50.0 per cent of the respondents perceive positive changes at the second stage of economic reform implemented in Poland. The majority point at deterioration of economic situation and do not believe in effectiveness of the undertaken activities. These are the effects of high inflation, shortage of dwellings and bad economic perspectives caused by Poland's foreign

/families/ and Communione e Liberazione /young intellectuals/. In its educational work with the youth the Church made a succesful attempt to utilize their deep interests in the Oriental culture. The Maitri movement is a good example. Although it uses "pagan" symbols which in the beginning aroused the Church's distrust, its participants were taken care of and subordinated to the Church structure.

What is more, a matter for confrontation is also the activity of the educational authorities which try to rationalize the youth's philosophy of life and attitudes. For example the Church attacks lectures on "science of religion" which is optional in the fourth grades of secondary schools /in this year the subject is lectured in 78.5 per cent of the secondary schools in Poland/. The Church has also criticized a school-book "Preparation to the family life" which was supposed to be an educational supplement to the secondary school curriculum preparing youngsters to the family life.

Young intellectuals

If we take as a starting point a criterion of age 15-26 for students and 26-34 for those with higher education, the total number of young intellectuals amounts to 966 thousand /39.5 per cent of them are students/.

The research results show that the young intellectuals generally accept the ideals of socialism. Yet, their vision of socio-political system is inconsistent. They advocate both central /authoritarian/ power and a model of decentralized authority; a leading role of one party and existence of competing political parties; fixed /government/ prices and free prices; a job for everybody and a competition on labour market and unemployment.

The young intellectuals are strongly attached to democratic traditions and such values as: citizens' right to decide about the community's future, freedom of speech, equality in the face of law etc.

The research shows that a religious attitude still prevails among the young intellectuals /76.0 per cent/. It is directly

As it results from the research, nearly 90 per cent of the youth are believing Christians and practising Roman Catholics. For most of them, the Church is not only the authority in the matters of faith, but also enjoys their confidence as a socio-political institution.

In the 80s one can notice not only growing religious and clerical feeling but also considerable educational influence of the Church on the youth. The Primatial Council's analysis shows that the Church realizes a long-range programme of influencing the youth and aiming at their indoctrination and subordinating them to its moral and social teachings. The main goal of these activities is to educate young Poles as "conscious Christians and patriots" according to the Church's understanding of this word. What is more, the Church attempts to gain practical monopoly in the sphere of shaping non-conformist and pro-social attitudes. The Church activity is characterized by rich variety and flexibility of forms and methods. Sometimes it adopts the experience worked out in the state educational system and youth movement and makes use of the borrowed symbols /e.g. Scouts' symbols/.

The important instruments of the Church influence on the young generation are institutionalized youth groups such as: altar-boys, choirs and charity groups, the Church guard or prayer-groups. What consolidates the youth's union with the Church is traditional pilgrimages. Still, the most popular is the so-called oasis movement originating from the programme Light-life /discussed later/. In 1987 81.340 young people participated in the oasis movement /in 1986 - 82.300/. In the early 80s their number was even three times bigger. The participants were mainly pupils from secondary schools and young workers but the oasis staff consisted generally of students.

Recently a spectrum of various forms of the Church activities has been broadened. There are attempts to implant on the Polish ground some experience of Opus Dei /young administrative and engineering staff/, Focolarini movement

international military alliances and criticize the foundations of socialist political system. The peace and ecological slogans are often a camouflage for political aims of their activity.

Yet, an escalating conflict has been settled by a new governmental act on defences. The act of July 13, 1988 recognizes the right to conscientious objection to military service. The conscripts may refuse to do military service and perform alternative service. At the same time, about 300 persons sentenced on that behalf were released under amnesty.

Nevertheles, a basic ground of political struggle is the academic milieu. There are some attempts to reactivate the Independent Students' Association /ISA/, build its superstructures and convert it into a political organization. In some milieus traditional students' jokes are used in political struggle /e.g. the orange alternative in Wrocław, Christmas meetings at the Warsaw University/. The opposition favours all initiatives of establishing new organizations and associations. New governmental acts on social organizations will make it possible to register some of them at the end of the year. It is expected that in autumn the government will grant more freedom to the academic self-governments which should become a counter-balance to the ISA activities.

Alternative youth movements

The appearance of various youth movements and social initiatives is a brand new phenomenon. Sometimes they spread in the youth organizations /e.g. students' cultural movement in the Polish Students' Association/ or collaborate with them / a peace-ecological movement "Wolę być" - "I prefer to be" with the Polish Scouts' Association/. Some of them develop under the auspices of different organizations /e.g. personal computers clubs movements/. The affiliation to them is not formal, they give a chance to the young people to develop their personal interests or solve some of their problems. Many social initiatives are supported by the official youth organizations which benefit from it in a long

run because their social basis and influence are expanded.

There are also some social movements which develop alternatively to the youth organizations. The movement of pure hearts - movement for struggle against drug addiction - founded by MONAR is a good example. One of its most spectacular actions in September 1986, was forming " a chain of pure hearts" which was joined by about one million people, mostly young. The young people turned out to be unexpectedly open to the slogans of that movement which clearly went beyond the problems of drug addiction. In the "schools of pure hearts" pupils declared for a change of school atmosphere and criticized the youth organizations. Soon, the movement of pure hearts came through an internal crisis, as mere cultivation of moral values was not a sufficient binder. Yet, for some time it was a serious challenge for all youth organizations. The official youth movement has not drawn any conclusions from a dynamic development of informal structures of the youth activity. It seems to develop a feeling of threat from their side. One should add that also the PUWP has not yet created a general conception of work with informal youth movements. After all, many of them take root from genuine youth needs and reveal interests in political activity among the young. When neglected, sooner or later, they join the anti-state opposition.

In conclusion, we should also touch upon a problem of counterculture in Poland. The phenomenon of counterculture or contestation refers mainly to the students' milieu and the young intellectuals with classical education. Yet, in our country, contrary to the west, its main socio-moral trend was not connected with a political contestation. It resulted from the fact that understanding politics as a source of all evil, mechanically adopted from the West, was enriched with local prejudice against a governmental pressure on compulsory participation in public life. Life philosophy of contestation can be summarized in the slogans:"be free" and "be yourself". These slogans are frequently realized in peer-groups since counterculture is collectivistic by nature.

What characterizes this counterculture is an attempt to escape from individual responsibility for one's own life choices. The contestation in Poland appears often in conversion into Buddism, Taoism or Hinduism. In Polish social life these are marginal groups.

Conclusion

In Poland, the Polish United Workers' Party is deeply concerned about all the youth's problems. According to the decisions made at the 9th Party Congress /1981/, in June 1982 the government elaborated and implemented "Programme of improving life and professional start of the youth till 1985" which covered practically all spheres of life, and particularly: citizen's start, development and improvement of educational process, dwelling situation, protection and development of the family, life and professional start of the peasant youth.

The economic and social conditions under which the programme was implemented were difficult, so the potential effects are few.

According to the resolution adopted at the 9th Central Committee plenum on May 22, 1986, the Seym passed the Youth Act. While elaborating this act, one expected to establish favourable conditions for full participation of the youth in public, social, economic and cultural life of the country. However, one must remember that the act established only legal grounds and together with other executive acts came into force on January 1, 1987. It is too early to estimate its effects. On April 8, 1986 the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PUWP passed a resolution on organizing special summer and winter camps for the promising youth engaged in social activity.

Untill now, more than 10 thousand young people have participated in various actions undertaken within the framework of the programme called "Vanguard of the XXIth century". In 1988 only, the "Vanguard" comprises 10 thousand participants - on the central and local camps. The Political and

Organizational Department of the Central Committee of the PUWP elaborated a conception of a whole year's work with the leading and active youth. This conception assumes a variety of forms of promotion of the most talented young people /e.g. the clubs "Vanguard of the XXIth century" in each voivodship/.

The Roman Catholic church also joined the struggle for the "souls". As we have mentioned above, the oasis movement Light-life has been developing since 1977. Its main goal is a global formation of young people based on social and educational teachings of the Church and on the latest achievements of contemporary pedagogics, psychology and sociology. According to many bishops and Catholic activists the oasis movement Light-life is a precedent not only in Europe but in the world. Sometimes this organization arouses fanatical religious feelings in the youth which occasionally lead them to religious ecstasy. The youth brought up in this movement is suspicious, closed in its own groups, politically passive, reluctant to dialogue and open to confrontation.

In 1980-1987 in Poland 1087 new churches were built. In the architecture they differ from traditional Catholic temples. They are complex edifices which perform various cultural and educational functions and tend to be a converging point of the youth milieu. The funds earmarked on this kind of activity surpass many times those of the local authorities.

Obviously, it is the youth who will make vital decisions on the future of the country. Both General W.Jaruzelski and Secretary General, M.Gorbachev staying recently in Poland, realize that. One of their meetings was adressed to the youth. "The generation cannot be lost - said W.Jaruzelski.It may only get lost in apathy, in a feeling of helplessness/.../ We have no ready-made formulas. We are working on the new grounds, looking for new solutions, even those which we could not think of before". This statement is clearer in the light of Gorbachev's pronouncement about the right of each socialist country to independent approach to its internal problems. The recent experience shows that we will witness

unprecedented solutions in social and political sphere. These phenomena will be accompanied by a dycnotomy of the youth's world of values, which - let us hope - will gradually decline.

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